

# Everyone Out Oct. 16 to Demand Withdrawal of GIs from Vietnam!

## THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 29 - No. 36

Monday, October 11, 1965

Price 10c

## Seek to Keep SWP Off N. Y. Ballot on Pretext

### Ruling Challenged In State High Court

NEW YORK — Basing its action on a crude legal technicality, the Democratic-dominated New York City Board of Elections ruled Oct. 4 that the mayoralty ticket of the Socialist Workers Party should not appear on the ballot. A court appeal against the action is under way.

To obtain a place on the ballot, a minority party must submit nominating petitions bearing the signatures of 7,500 registered voters. The SWP filed 14,000 and no challenge was made against them. The board ruled, however, that the Socialist Workers ticket was not entitled to a place on the ballot on the incredible grounds that a certification of acceptance of nomination was not received from the party's candidates until eleven hours after the deadline.

A challenge to this arbitrary decision was filed with the New York State Supreme court and was scheduled to be heard Oct. 8. The party is represented by David Freedman, an expert in electoral law.

In at least two previous similar cases — one involving a Republican and the other an independent — the state courts ruled against election boards. If the State Supreme Court should fail to reverse the board's action in the SWP case, an appeal will be made to the Appellate Division of the state court.

The intent of the section of the law under which the SWP was barred from the ballot is to establish a deadline not for acceptance, but for declaration of nominations. The law itself is ambiguous with the current statutes containing two different dates as the deadline.

The bias of the board was made



Paul Boutelle

apparent when in the same meeting where it ruled the SWP ticket off the ballot, it ruled that Vito Bastista, ultra-right United Taxpayer's candidate, should be on the ballot despite technical irregularities in his petitions, also flowing from ambiguities in the electoral law. In the SWP case, the board argued it could only apply the law, not interpret it. In Bastista's case, it proved more flexible.

Meanwhile the Socialist Workers Party is continuing to vigorously press ahead with its campaign, with candidates appearing on radio and television, election material being distributed and street rallies scheduled. The party is hammering at the central issue of rolling up a protest vote against the war in Vietnam.

#### The Slate

The party's slate is: Clifton DeBerry for Mayor; Peter Camejo for President of the City Council; Hedda Garza for Comptroller; Paul Boutelle for Manhattan Borough President; and Lynn Henderson for Manhattan Councilman-at-Large.

Independent nominees who have secured a place on the ballot include the Socialist Labor Party; William Epton, Progressive Labor Party candidate for State Senator from the 21st District; and José Fuentes, independent candidate for the State Assembly from Manhattan's Lower East Side. Fuentes and Epton have been endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party.

#### By The Editors

Everyone who is against the U.S. war in Vietnam should get out and join the demonstrations planned for the weekend of Oct. 15-16 in many cities and campuses across the country. The demonstrations are planned as part of the "International Days of Protest."

The war the U.S. is waging in Vietnam is one of atrocity and mass murder. Millions of tons of bombs, napalm fire-bombs, poison gas, chemicals and all of the other instruments of death in the U.S. arsenal are being used against the men, women and children of Vietnam.

It is a war to preserve a hated military regime, and to maintain U.S. domination of Vietnam in violation of the right of its people to determine their own fate.

Enough of the truth about this dirty war has been printed in the press so that Americans cannot say, as the Germans did about the Nazi mass murder of Jews, "We did not know."

#### Speak Out

We do know what the government is doing. We must stand up and make our voices of protest heard, and demand that the government get U.S. troops out of Vietnam and leave Vietnam to the Vietnamese.

Activities are planned in many cities. Following are the plans in a few areas:

● New York — On Friday, Oct. 15, 4:30-6:30 p.m., a mass "Speak-out Against the Draft and Against the War in Vietnam" will take place at the Manhattan induction center, 39 Whitehall St. For information, contact: Whitehall Speakout Committee, 5 Beekman St. Phone: CO 7-1488.

On Saturday, Oct. 16, there will be a mass march beginning at 1 p.m. at 91st St. and Fifth Ave. The march will go down Fifth Ave. to 68th St., where there will be a rally. Speakers include Dave Dellinger, Dave Gilbert, Chris Koch, and Robert Parris. For information, contact: Committee for Fifth Ave. Vietnam Peace Parade, 5 Beekman St. Phone: 227-6960.

● Berkeley — A teach-in will begin at noon on Oct. 15 at the Berkeley campus. That evening, there will be a seven-mile torchlight march from the campus to the Oakland Army Terminal,



Photo by Finer

**PROTEST JOHNSON'S WAR.** Scene at front of New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel Oct. 3 during visit by President Johnson. About 350 joined picket line to protest Vietnam war. Second person in foreground is Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers nominee for mayor. Among the groups were the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, the Spartacist group, Youth Against War and Fascism and Committee to Aid National Liberation Front.

where the teach-in will continue opposite the soldiers' barracks. For more information, contact: Vietnam Day Committee, 2407 Fulton St., Berkeley.

● Chicago — There will be demonstrations on campuses throughout the city in the morning of Oct. 15. At 2 p.m., marches from the campuses will converge at Buckingham Fountain, Grant Park, for a rally. At 3:30, the protesters will march to the induction center at 615 West Van Buren, where an anti-draft demonstration

will occur. Contact: Chicago Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 1103 East 63rd St. Phone: 752-5293.

● Philadelphia — A "talk-out" will begin at 4 p.m. at City Hall Plaza on Oct. 15. On the next day, Staughton Lynd will lead a picket line march from City Hall to the University of Pennsylvania where further activities will take place. Contact: Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 228 S. Buckingham Pl. Phone: EV 2-4847.

## Alabama Travesty of Justice — Johnson's Responsibility

By Arthur Maglin

On Sept. 30 in Hayneville, Ala., a jury of local racists acquitted Tom Coleman, admitted killer of civil rights worker Jonathan Daniels. But the real responsibility for this miscarriage of justice lies primarily with the Johnson administration and the federal government.

Contempt for the lives and rights of Negroes and civil rights workers in the South was expressed by Johnson's Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach when he heard of the acquittal:

"I think this kind of result is expected from time to time. It is difficult to get convictions in some areas. This is the price you have to pay for the jury system, but I don't think it is too high a price

to pay." Echoing the arguments of Coleman's lawyers, Katzenbach said, "There is a good deal of feeling, particularly in rural areas in some parts of the country. If something happens, there is a sort of feeling, 'Well, they came down here, they are outsiders and they are agitating.'"

J. Edgar Hoover and his FBI, who recently professed great concern over the increasing crime rate, were silent about this murder and its legal whitewash.

Before he was murdered, Daniels had been in the Hayneville jail for six days because of civil rights activity. He was released along with the Rev. Richard Morrisroe and several Negro civil rights workers on Aug. 20. For several minutes the group stood in front of the jail, then Daniels and Morrisroe and two Negro girls

(Continued on Page 2)

## 'Mom, Why Must I Kill Women and Kids?'

An Associated Press dispatch of Sept. 30 from Wichita, Kan., quoted the following from a letter by Cpl. Ronnie W. Wilson in Vietnam to his mother:

"There are so many Cong here that in three days we captured 12 VC and killed 33. Mom, I had to kill a woman and a baby.

"We were sweeping the jungle and all of a sudden the Cong opened up on us. People were falling and Cong were clipping 81 mortars on us. The lieutenant had us move out toward the firing. We killed eight Cong and about 30 got away.

"Anyway we were searching the dead Cong when a wife of the one I was checking ran out of a cave and picked up a sub-machine gun and started firing at us.

"I shot her and my rifle is automatic, so before I knew it I had shot about six rounds. Four of them hit her and the others went in the cave and must have bounced off the rock wall and hit the baby.

"Mom, for the first time I felt really sick to my stomach. The baby was about two months old . . .

"I swear to God this place is worse than hell. Why must I kill women and kids? Who knows who's right? They think they are and we think we are. Both sides are losing men. I wish to God this was over."

The Associated Press quoted Mrs. Wilson: "He's proud of being in the Marines and of doing his job. It's a sad thing for parents to have raised their sons in church to have things happen like this."



J. Edgar Hoover

### In This Issue

A Cuba Letter P. 3

Anti-War Convention P. 4

India vs. Pakistan P. 5

Vietnam Analysis P. 8



# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

A petition was filed with the U.S. Supreme Court on Sept. 20 by the American Civil Liberties Union and eight national labor unions in support of six past and present officers and employees of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (Ind.). The six were convicted for a second time in 1963 on a charge of conspiring to defraud the government by filing false non-Communist affidavits in violation of Section 9(h) of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Section denies access to the services of the National Labor Relations Board to any union whose officers fail to file affidavits of non-membership and non-affiliation with the Communist Party.

There were originally 11 defendants indicted on the conspiracy charge in 1956. They were not tried, however, until 1959, during the middle of a nationwide strike by Mine-Mill against most of the country's copper producers. Nine of the 11 were convicted in this first trial, but their convictions were later reversed because of "judicial heresy testimony."

In its brief attacking the Taft-Hartley Act's loyalty oath, the ACLU referred to a June 1965 Supreme Court decision which

voided "as a bill of attainder" Section 504 of the 1959 Labor-Management Reporting Act, which made it a crime for a member of the Communist Party to serve as an officer or employee of a labor union.

This Supreme Court decision, said the ACLU, stated that Section 504 was enacted by Congress to replace the Taft Hartley Act's Section 9(h) loyalty oath.

In voiding Section 504, the ACLU brief charged, the Supreme Court decision also "compels the conclusion that Section 9(h) is constitutionally invalid."

The eight unions filing a friend-of-the-court brief were the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union, American Federation of Teachers, International Typographical Union, National Farmers Union, Transport Workers Union, United Automobile Workers Union and United Packinghouse Workers Union.

A new chapter of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) has just been organized in Racine, Wisc. Its president is Augusta Hill, an employee of American Motors, and a member of UAW Local 72.

The sixth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO will convene Dec. 9 in the civic auditorium in San Francisco, Calif.

Union membership increased by 3,000 during 1964, bringing the total of organized workers in the United States up to 16,841,000. This was 21.9 per cent of the total labor force of 76,971,000 last year.

According to the U.S. Dept. of Labor, however, union membership in the United States, as a proportion of the total labor force, has continued to decline.

In 1956, for example, out of a total labor force of 70,387,000, some 17,490,000, or 24.8 per cent, were union members.

The first general oil industry strike since 1952 has been threatened by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW). Union President A. F. Grospiron announced plans for the strike effective 12:01 A.M. Oct. 8, should current negotiations for a general wage increase be unsuccessful. The union is asking for a five per cent wage increase.

Involved in the negotiations are nearly 50,000 employees of nearly all the major oil companies in the United States, many of them employed in oil refineries.

—Tom Leonard

## New York Symposium On Politics and Poverty

An exchange of differing views will be heard at the Militant Labor Forum symposium on how to deal effectively with "Poverty, Police and Politics in the New York Elections."

The speakers are: Dixie Bayo, New York director of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement; Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers nominee for Manhattan Borough President; José Fuentes, independent candidate for the State Assembly from the Lower East Side; and Major Owens, director of Brooklyn CORE. Owens was an aspirant for the Democratic nomination for City Councilman from Brooklyn. He polled 30 percent of the vote.

The symposium will be held Friday evening, Oct. 15, 8:30 p.m., at 116 University Place.

# ...Travesty of Justice in Alabama

(Continued from Page 1)

went to a small store to purchase food.

Just as Daniels opened the screen door, Coleman, who was inside the store, fired a load of buckshot into his chest. Daniels died instantly.

Morrisroe was a few feet back of Daniels when he fell. The priest grabbed one of the girls by the hand and ran. Coleman came out of the store and shot Father Morrisroe in the back. Morrisroe is still alive but in serious condition.

Coleman was found "not guilty" of killing Jonathan Daniels. He was not even tried on the charge of murder, but on a manslaughter charge which carries much lighter penalties.

It was no accident that when the acquittal came, Coleman's wife said, "I knew it all the time."

The Sept. 30 New York Herald Tribune painted the trial scene this way:

## Press as Jury

"Everybody in the crowded courtroom looks toward the press jury, nods his head, smiles and nudges his neighbor as point after point is made for the defense. These points are made both by the 'state' attorneys and the 'defense' attorneys, for there is no difference. All of them, as well as the judge, are defending the community."

The attorneys concocted a story about how Coleman was supposed to be acting in self-defense. This fantasy, believed by no one, claimed Daniels menaced Coleman with a switch-blade while Morrisroe drew a pistol. After the seminary student and the priest were cut down a "big, tall nigger" is said to have come up and removed the knife and pistol and disappeared never to be seen again.

Among the onlookers at the farce-trial was Leroy Wilkins, the Ku Klux Klansman who goes on trial Oct. 18 for killing Mrs. Viola Liuzzo last March 25. Wilkins commented: "I think the verdict was wonderful."

## Requests Stay

The American Civil Liberties Union made an application to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black in Washington to order a stay of all court proceedings in Lowndes County on Sept. 30, in an attempt to secure a fair trial in the Liuzzo murder case. Hayneville is located in Lowndes County.

The application charged that Negroes and women are excluded from jury service in the county. Black turned the application down.

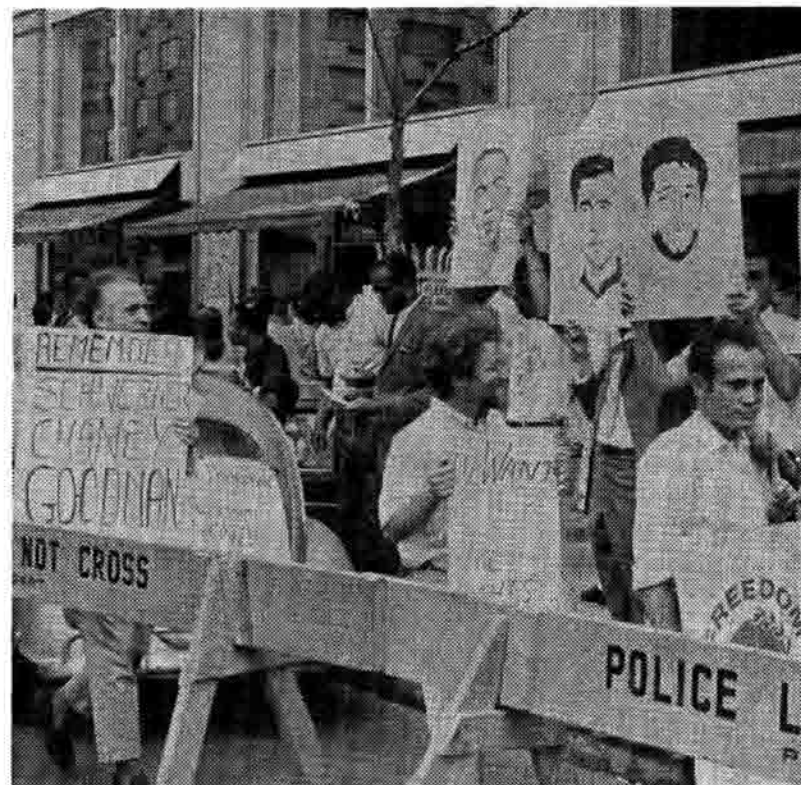
The killing of Jonathan Daniels and the shooting of Father Morrisroe are part of a pattern of increasing violence against civil rights workers and Southern Negroes since the passage of the vot-

## Leader of Deacons To Speak in Harlem

NEW YORK — Charles Sims, founder of the Bogalusa, La., Deacons for Defense and Justice will speak at a public rally here Monday evening, Oct. 25. The meeting will also hear Robert Hicks, a member of the Deacons and vice president of the Bogalusa Voters League.

The meeting will be held at 8:30 p.m. at the Emanuel Temple Church, 37 W. 119th St. (between Fifth and Lenox Aves.) under the auspices of the New York Friends of the Deacons for Defense and Justice. The committee has opened an office at 271 W. 125 St., Room 209, according to Rick Le Seur, an initiator of the group. Its purpose is to publicize the activities of the Deacons and raise funds for them.

Originating in Bogalusa and now spreading into other areas of the South, the Deacons act to defend civil rights fighters from physical attacks by racists.



**DEMANDED FEDERAL ACTION.** Commemorating first anniversary of Mississippi murder of Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, members of various civil rights groups in New York picketed FBI office last spring demanding federal protection for civil rights workers in the South. Their plea went unheeded. Now Jonathan Daniels has been murdered in Alabama and the federal government still refuses to act.

ing rights bill. The federal government has the responsibility, which it has consistently failed to meet, to uphold and defend the rights and lives of all.

Instead of giving tacit approval to racist crimes through its inaction, the federal government should defend the lives and rights of Negroes and civil rights workers, sending whatever force is necessary to the South, including troops. A federal government responsible to the needs of the masses of people would arrest and prosecute every Klan murderer, every official from sheriff to governor who was guilty of depriving Negroes of their rights. Such vigorous federal action would put a stop once and for all to wanton racist murder legally justified by the kind of farcical trial we have witnessed in Alabama.

Under the circumstances, the need for Negroes to defend them-

selves is quite clear. Groups like the Deacons of Defense and Justice which have begun to organize in the South, are necessary if racist violence is to be stopped and the lives of Negroes and those helping them to win elementary rights are to be protected.

## Voting Returns In Detroit

DETROIT — The campaign of Rev. Albert B. Cleage, which centered on the issues of Negro representation and police brutality, was concluded on Sept. 14 when Cleage failed to win nomination in the non-partisan primary election.

Cleage's efforts to win a seat on the Common Council aroused widespread interest and discussion in the Negro community. He received 17,623 votes and of 13 Negro candidates he got the fifth highest number of votes. The four top Negro candidates were among the 18 final nominees, and will run in the November election.

Cleage said that he will now set himself the task of working to support these four candidates "to accomplish the task which each of us set ourselves at the beginning of the campaign . . . to secure Negro representation on the Common Council in accordance with the 30-40 per cent of the Detroit population which Negroes now represent."

Robert Himmel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, polled 1,400 votes. The main issue of his campaign, which was primarily a socialist educational campaign, was the war in Vietnam. Himmel and other socialists were active supporters of Cleage.

## Koch to Speak in N.Y. On Trip to N. Vietnam

NEW YORK — Chris Koch, Program Director of radio station WBAI, will speak on the current U.S. bombings of North Vietnam at the Free University Forum, Saturday, Oct. 16 at 8:30 p.m. Koch recently returned from a visit to North Vietnam. He is speaking in support of the International Days of Protest against the war in Vietnam. The address of the Forum is 20 E. 14th St. Admission by contribution: \$1. Free to students and faculty of the Free University.

## Weekly Calendar

### AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

### CHICAGO

**WHAT PROGRAM FOR THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT?** Hear Farrell Dobbs, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party, and past presidential candidate, during "International Days of Protest" against war in Vietnam. Fri., Oct. 15, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### CLEVELAND

**SPEAKERS' PANEL**, including representatives of Vietnam Day Committee, Cleveland Emergency Committee to End War in Vietnam, Faculty Teach-In Committee, DuBois Club and Young Socialist Alliance discuss What's Ahead for the Antiwar Movement? Sun., Oct. 27, 7:30 p.m. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. Ausp. Militant Forum.

### DETROIT

**THE CURSE OF AMERICAN CULTURE.** Speaker, Constance Weissman, contributor to The Militant. Fri., Oct. 15, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

**Symposium: POVERTY, POLICE & POLITICS in the NEW YORK ELECTIONS.** Panelists: Dixie Bayo, New York Director, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers candidate for Manhattan Borough President; José Fuentes, independent candidate for Assemblyman; Major Owens, chairman, Brooklyn CORE. Period for audience participation. Fri., Oct. 15, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students 50c.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## Your Help Is Needed

Beginning January 1966, the Post Office requires that we include the zip code number with all subscribers' addresses. If we don't have yours, would you please drop us a card at once. We can't promise it will improve speed of delivery but it will help us avoid unnecessary headaches.



## What's Wrong With U.S. Labor?

## A Cuban Letter and Our Reply

[The following letter was sent to *The Militant* by a reader in Cuba. We print it along with an answer by Fred Halstead.]

Santiago de Cuba

Compañeros:

First, I would like to let you know that I am a careful reader — in so far as my knowledge of your language permits — of the newspaper, *The Militant*, which, though it is not sold on the street corners, is available in the university library here (as well as in others) along with other publications from all parts of the world.

The reason for this letter is that I would like to ask you some questions about the people of the United States which I believe you will be able to help me understand a little better.

You are aware, as is the whole world, that a revolution has triumphed in Cuba which has as its main object the welfare of all. And that it has been able to overcome all who opposed it. Many laws have been passed or changed, laws which have gained for the Cuban worker his full sovereignty and right to be the owner of what he produces. That is to say capitalism has been done away with.

#### Attacks on Cuba

Because of this, North American imperialism has opened the most cynical and shameless attack upon my country. They attack a country for the sole crime of refusing to surrender not even a small part of its principles under the pressure of imperialism. The imperialists want to destroy Cuba, destroy the revolutionary people. And I now wonder, what are the workers in the U.S.A. doing about this? I know that many, if not all the unions are controlled by gangsters or misleaders, but even though this is clear, I must ask, is anything being done about this by the workers in the U.S.? Because the people of the U.S. are the same as other people in the world but they have the additional disgrace of living in the most ferocious, brutal and aggressive imperialism of the century.

American forces invade Vietnam, Santo Domingo, the Congo. They murder, or help to murder, Colombians, Venezuelans, Guatemalans and I must ask myself, "what is the reaction of the workers and farmers of the U.S. going to be in the face of these crimes?"

It comes to mind that surely there will follow great strikes, that they will refuse to produce the murderous weapons and that they will demonstrate against imperialism. However, no matter how hard I search, I have not come across a single report or read of any even isolated meetings or declarations. Surely there is heavy propaganda but I ask myself, "What is being done to counteract this lying propaganda?" I ask this because in the time of Batista, here, we had similar propaganda and also gangster union leaders but even so, ways and means were found by which the workers and farmers were able to discover the truth.

#### Demonstrate Solidarity

I respect the people of the U.S. but I would like to see in their attitude something which could give me faith that they have some human feelings which are violated by the aggressions of the Yankee imperialists in other latitudes. I look forward to seeing the productive results of unity amongst all those who wish to demonstrate that there also, (in the U.S.) are a brave and progressive people.

Perhaps this letter will be intercepted by the authorities of your country, in violation of normal international relations, but if it arrives, I hope that you will answer promptly.

Looking forward to your reply, I remain,

F. Quintas

For workers victory! For solidarity!

Patria o Muerte. Venceremos!

New York

Dear Compañero Quintas,

Your question is very important. In a sense the whole world asks the same question, for the United States is the chief bulwark of imperialism and counterrevolution in the world today. Whether or how long the workers of this country will allow this to continue is a key to the entire world situation.

I am hopeful that the apathy of the bulk of the American working class will not long continue. We are confident it will change sooner or later and there are some important signs of change which we shall discuss below. But we have no intention of painting a pretty picture to cover what is really a complex and in some ways a shameful situation.

It is the nature of imperialism that because of the super-exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial areas that it controls, it is able to offer significant concessions to sections of the working class in the imperialist country itself. It is able to provide them a relatively comfortable standard of living so they have no pressing personal need to upset the system. On the basis of this, a high-paid, privileged union bureaucracy has grown up which has become the key support to the imperialist system. (This phenomenon is not new, or confined to the U.S., and was noted by Lenin in 1918.)

#### Workers Ignorant

The workers themselves, even those in the privileged layers, are by and large not even aware of the fact that their relative comfort is being paid for by the misery and starvation of workers and peasants in far away colonial and semi-colonial lands. They are not evil people, and if they knew the truth, and if they honestly faced it, they would be opposed. Many of them are opposed, but there is almost no way to express this within the unions, and not a few honest workers have lost their jobs for trying.

One of the most important reasons why they do not see or face the truth, is that the trade union leaders — and others who follow their line, such as some civil rights leaders — do everything they can to cover up, apologize for, and justify the crimes of the U.S. capitalist class. They do this on the theory that the liberal capitalists — such as President Johnson, or before him President Kennedy — will grant concessions to labor on the home front and labor should "loyally" support the liberal capitalist foreign policy, which is imperialism.

The opposition to this has been greatly blunted by the fact that even the Socialist and Communist Parties — which once had significant followings here — have for years refused, and still refuse, to break politically with the liberal capitalists. In the last election, even after North Vietnam had been bombed, both of these parties still told the workers to vote for President Johnson and the Democratic Party.

In addition there is the whole mythology of the cold war and the witch-hunt atmosphere of hysterical anti-Communism, where "communists" are considered the embodiment of all evil and virtually nonhuman. This also existed in pre-revolutionary Cuba and you may recall it. Under this mythology, which is drilled into the people here by all the propaganda media, it is enough to simply mention "communist" and all reason, all ordinary human sympathy is supposed to be blotted out, and often is. This atmosphere

reached its height in the period of McCarthyism in the 1950's, but is still very much with us.

Another important factor is that it is always difficult, uncomfortable and even dangerous to admit — even to oneself — that one's own country is wrong. It cuts across the patriotic instincts common to most people in this epoch of history, and places the individual in opposition to the powers that be. It is much easier simply to shut the uncomfortable information out of one's mind, or to grasp at and "believe" even the flimsiest propaganda excuse.

#### Revolutionary Attitude

Fidel Castro referred to this phenomenon when speaking of pre-revolutionary Cuba. He said: "They married us to falsehood and forced us to live with it. That is why it seems the earth is sinking when we hear the truth." Fidel then added the sentence: "As if it weren't better to see the earth sink than to live with falsehood."

But this last sentence expresses a revolutionary attitude. People who are relatively comfortable in their personal situation, and whose sensitivity has been dulled by years of shutting out uncomfortable thoughts are not inclined to face facts which make "the earth sink." It takes fresh minds to do that.

In Cuba, it was Fidel's generation of students who began to face the facts and draw the revolutionary conclusions. And it is of the greatest significance that at the present time right here in the U.S., sections of the students — who are too young to have been dulled and frightened by McCarthyism — are facing the facts and responding with courage and decency.

These students are the backbone of the movement against the Vietnam war which began to grow last April and which has already involved many thousands of persons in demonstrations, teach-ins and protests of various kinds. You may not have been aware of these protests when you wrote your letter, but this is the first large movement against a foreign war — after the shooting started — ever seen in the U.S.

Beside the students, there is a very important section of the working class in the U.S. which is not comfortable, which is not apathetic, and which is strongly opposed to U.S. imperialism and openly on the side of the colonial revolutions. These are the black working people — mostly in the big city ghettos, but also including the younger and the poorer people in the Southern rural civil rights struggle.

#### Enthusiastic Welcome

This has been demonstrated in many ways, including the fact that when Fidel came to speak at the U.N. in 1960 and stayed at the Hotel Theresa, the people in Harlem gave him an enthusiastic reception, something that shocked and frightened the ruling class. But this widespread and powerful sentiment of rejection of U.S. white capitalist society and its propaganda has as yet almost no organized form, and it breaks through in massive, elemental explosions like that in Los Angeles this last summer.

These elements — the newly radical students and the black working class — are bound to have their effect on the rest of the working people in this country, particularly the younger ones who face the draft, who suffer most from unemployment, and who are discriminated against by the conservative union bureaucracy which tends to be based on older workers.

In addition there is the effect of the colonial revolutions themselves. For one thing, they give inspiration to people in the U.S.



**THE POTENTIAL.** Part of mass march of more than 200,000 Detroit Negroes who demonstrated against racial discrimination two years ago, shortly after violent outbreak in Birmingham, Ala. The dynamic character of black struggle for freedom has become a central factor in American politics today and can provide motor force for social change.

who are trying to fight the system. For another, the wealth of the U.S. is not unlimited. Someone has to pay for these wars, both in terms of living standards and the military draft. The U.S. cannot continue the massive buildup of the military and the costly interventions overseas every time a new revolution breaks out without cutting back on its concessions to the workers at home.

To a certain extent this has already been occurring for some time, and this is one reason for the trend toward radicalization of the black workers and the students. The current boom in the economy which is the longest in history, has some very unstable and unhealthy features about it. One is the fact that it rests in good part on massive war spending and the danger of inflationary crisis. Another is the fact that it is a boom from the point of view of capitalist investment and profits, but not from the point of view of important sections of the working class. (The one-third unemployment rate in Watts is an example.)

Mass unemployment and pockets of poverty have continued throughout this boom. These conditions are an important factor in sustaining the investment boom, for the existence of several million unemployed tends to keep wages generally down and profit opportunities up. Even on the present level, however, the economic boom cannot be sustained indefinitely.

Sooner or later the fighting spirit of the students and black workers will penetrate the unions, and rank and file opposition to the bureaucracy and its pro-capitalist policies will develop great force. When that happens the students and black workers can look to the labor movement as an ally, and there will be a power on the scene which will be capable of stopping the imperialist madness.

In spite of all its political backwardness and present apparently conservative mood, the U.S. working class is not weak or defeated as the working class in Germany was after Hitler's rise to power. It has the tradition and capability of moving very fast, of pushing aside reactionary leadership and of conducting the most militant fights successfully, as it did in the organization of the industrial unions in the 1930's.

#### Signs of Change

Already there are signs of motion even within the unions — recent elections have ousted some of the most hated bureaucrats such as James B. Carey, ex-president of the International Union of Electrical Workers and David J. McDonald, ex-president of the Steelworkers. But these are only straws in the wind. It will be necessary to build an organized opposition based on the program of breaking the union movement from capitalist politics — because even liberal capitalist politics must be pro-war, imperialist politics. The Socialist Workers Party, with which I am associated, considers this idea — the building of a revolutionary opposition within the unions to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy — to be a key part of its program.

Mass sentiment is just beginning to be expressed by the younger generation in the U.S. against the evils of the present system. There is no doubt that it will continue to grow and become a powerful factor in the United States. But everything depends on whether this sentiment will find revolutionary leadership, or whether it will remain trapped within the policies of the "labor lieutenants of capitalism" who do everything they can to channel it behind "loyal" support to so-called liberal capitalists and their imperialist crimes.

Fred Halstead



# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 29 - No. 36

345

Monday, October 11, 1965

## No U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam?

The hue and cry in the American press, that North Vietnam's threat to try captured American pilots is a violation of international law, is completely hypocritical. It is the U.S. government that is violating all recognized international laws in Vietnam, not the Vietnamese.

U.S. aggression in Vietnam, beginning with the military occupation of South Vietnam in the 'fifties and the refusal to allow free elections in 1956, violated the 1954 Geneva Accords. From the playboy emperor Bao Dai down to the most recent version of a tin-type Hitler, the U.S. has kept brutal dictators in power in Saigon for a decade.

These dictators have imprisoned, tortured and killed their own people. U.S. money, guns and bombs are used every single day, month in and month out to murder Vietnamese men, women and children. They have created well over half a million homeless, foodless and penniless refugees.

For nine months the U.S. Air Force has been rocketing and bombing North Vietnamese dams, schools and hospitals, as well as "military targets" — although the U.S. government has not declared war on North Vietnam. Already using chemical defoliants and napalm bombs, the U.S. is presently paving the way for the use of new forms of gas warfare, in complete violation of the 1925 Geneva Conventions.

North Vietnam is entirely within her rights to try U.S. pilots as war criminals under the precedent of the post World War II Nuremberg trials which held that high crimes against humanity cannot be excused on the grounds of obeying government orders. But it is not only U.S. pilots who are guilty.

The U.S. government stands guilty before the entire world for high crime against the Vietnamese people. Americans who are opposed to this crime must make their opposition to Johnson's war heard and felt.

## Body and Soul

Speaking at the Militant Labor Forum in New York shortly before he was killed, Malcolm X observed: "It's easy to become a satellite today without even being aware of it. This country can seduce God. Yes, it has that seductive power — the power of dollarism. You can cuss out colonialism, imperialism and all other kinds of isms, but it's hard for you to cuss that dollarism. When they drop those dollars on you your soul goes."

We were reminded of this when we read the reports of how the House Agriculture Committee is whacking up this year's sugar quota. The quotas assigned to various countries, totalling some ten million tons, with the U.S. paying a premium of nearly seven cents on each pound that comes in, is obviously a lucrative racket for those concerned.

Naturally the bulk of it will go to U.S. businessmen operating abroad. For instance, the Owens-Illinois Co., which, among other things, manufactures plastic bottles and cardboard boxes, was given a special 10,000-ton quota for sugar to be grown on an island in the Bahamas where it grows pulpwood but where, so far, no one has ever grown any sugar cane.

But even more striking was the House committee's announcement that it was recommending that Brazil's sugar quota be doubled this year. When asked why, the chairman of the committee, Rep. Harold Cooley (D-Ala.), replied blandly they were doing it because Brazil had sided with the U.S. during the Dominican crisis. Brazil was one of the few Latin countries to provide token forces to try to create the illusion that the U.S. intervention was really an OAS operation.

Perhaps what Malcolm said about seduction should be modified when it comes to those like the Brazilian oligarchy. That's not seduction. It's a straight old-fashioned purchase.

## Socialist Directory

**BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.  
**CHICAGO.** Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.  
**CLEVELAND.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425.  
**DENVER.** Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2648, Denver 80221.  
**DETROIT.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, TEmple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.  
**LOS ANGELES.** Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.  
**MILWAUKEE.** 150 E. Juneau Ave.  
**MINNEAPOLIS.** Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

**NEWARK.** Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.  
**NEW YORK CITY.** Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.  
**OAKLAND-BERKELEY.** Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 651, Main Post Office, Oakland 12, Calif. Phone 562-4667.  
**PHILADELPHIA.** Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 8412.  
**ST. LOUIS.** Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.  
**SAN DIEGO.** San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St.  
**SAN FRANCISCO.** Pioneer Bookstore and Militant Labor Forum, 1722 Page St. UN 3-2453. Open 2-5 p.m. Mon., Fri., and weekends.  
**SEATTLE.** 3815 5th NE. Library, book store. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

## KEY GATHERING COMING UP

# D.C. Anti-War Convention

By Doug Jenness

The national convention of local antiwar committees called for the Thanksgiving weekend in Washington, D.C., will be a major event for the movement against the war in Vietnam. It will bring together leaders and activists from campus and community committees across the country to discuss the questions facing the movement and, hopefully, will found a national organization against the war.

Now that the campuses are in session again, it is clear that there is a big potential for the growth of the antiwar movement there. Dozens of new committees have already sprung up in many new areas, and older committees have experienced rapid growth. For example, the Columbia University Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which diligently maintained a daily literature table this summer with a force of 20 to 30 members, now holds business meetings with close to 200 in attendance.

A new committee has been formed in northern Minnesota, which recently held a protest demonstration against General Maxwell Taylor who was speaking in Superior, Wisc. This was the first such protest in the Northern Minnesota area in years, and is indicative of the growth and spread of the movement.

In nearly every area where committees exist they have found a big response to the Oct. 15-16 International Days of Protest.

These independent committees against the war in Vietnam developed out of the Students for a Democratic Society-sponsored April March on Washington. The ad hoc committees formed to organize support for the March did not fade away after it, but continued to exist and in fact grew. In many cities, these committees sustained themselves through the summer, carrying out a multitude of activities and winning new support.

The growth of the antiwar movement has posed an important problem. As the movement has taken on a more and more organized character, the question of coordination, liaison and united action among the committees scattered around the country has become a pressing need.

At the Washington Assembly of Unrepresented People held in August, many leaders and activists from these committees gathered in the Vietnam workshop to hash out the question of national coordination. Out of these discussions, a National Coordinating Committee was formed with a steering committee consisting of representatives from over thirty



Scene at New York antiwar demonstration

campus and community antiwar committees. The National Coordinating Committee was established on a temporary basis with headquarters in Madison, Wisc., until a national convention could be held to decide more definitively what kind of national organization is needed to meet the demands of the burgeoning protest movement.

At the Sept. 18-19 meeting of the steering committee at Ann Arbor, it was decided to shift the Thanksgiving convention from Madison to Washington, D.C. It was also agreed that the first and most important point on the agenda will be the question of the need for and the character of a national organization.

The Thanksgiving convention, which will last four days beginning on Nov. 25, is an extremely important occasion for the movement against the war in Vietnam.

There is no question that the issue which most affects young people today, especially students, is the Vietnam war. It is the issue around which sufficient sentiment and local organization already exist for forming a national organization that could have significant development and growth.

Most of the people who join the antiwar committees want to do something now against the horrendous war the U.S. government is waging in Vietnam. The thousands of students who are joining these committees do so with a sense of urgency about stopping the war as soon as possible. For the most part, they are not members of any existing national organization.

These committees have spontaneously adopted a policy of non-

exclusion, welcoming pacifists, liberals, socialists and anyone else who is against the war. They are the natural and obvious organizational vehicles for the majority of those opposed to the war, who do not belong to any other political organization, and who want an organization they can truly call their own. These committees have, by their non-exclusive and broad character based upon opposition to the war, much more potential for organizing the growing sentiment against the war than any other organizational form at this time.

The formation of a national organization based upon the committees to end the war in Vietnam would amplify many-fold the effectiveness of the antiwar protest in this country. A national organization reflecting the views of the campus and community committees would make possible activities that are impossible for local committees to undertake themselves — for example the calling and organization of national mobilizations against the war in Vietnam, implementing a national organizing campaign with organizers to travel across the country helping to organize new committees, and the printing and distribution of literature explaining the Vietnam war and urging people to organize against the war.

The impact of such an organization would attract even more people to the antiwar movement, because people are impressed by the effectiveness, seriousness, and sense of power that flow from a large national organization.

In order for the Thanksgiving convention to represent as accurately as possible the desires of the people in the Committees to End the War in Vietnam, every committee new and old, campus and community must send as many people as possible to Washington for the convention.

It was agreed at the Ann Arbor steering committee meeting that each committee be allowed two delegates per hundred members and one additional delegate for each additional hundred or major fraction thereof. An equal number of alternates may also be selected. Although only delegates may vote, everybody is urged to come and participate in the convention.

Every committee in the country should write immediately to the Madison office (National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 341 West Mifflin St., Madison, Wisc., 53703) requesting copies of the convention call, the agenda, and for information about accommodations. Two months is a very short time to publicize the convention, to arrange transportation and make all the other preparations necessary to bring as many people as possible to Washington on the Thanksgiving weekend.

## New Diabolical Soviet Plot?

By Russell Bradley

The Central Intelligence Agency recently made the headlines when it got caught red-handed — so to speak — trying to bribe the Prime Minister of Singapore. This is only one of a long line of CIA goof-ups.

But the CIA really isn't to blame for such incidents — and if you think it is, you're part of a Soviet plot. The Sept. 29 New York Herald Tribune disclosed that the CIA is circulating a report that describes a "Department of Disinformation" within the Soviet intelligence service which is said to be engaged in an elaborate effort to make the CIA look foolish.

It sounds like easy work if you can get it. Probably the "disinformers" have a lot of time on their hands to think up new terms for things. Calling themselves the "Department of Disinformation" was probably an insidious Soviet attempt to befuddle the minds of the CIA's intrepid disintelligence experts.

According to the CIA's report a "particular thrust" is also being made "against the FBI and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover." Misery loves miserable company.

The "Department of Disinformation" is supposed to be headed by Gen. Ivan Ivanovich Agayants "a senior professional intelligence officer with long experience and well developed agents and political contacts in Western Europe, especially in France, where he served under the name of Ivan Ivanovich Avalov." Seated at his desk in Virginia is Ivan's U.S. agent, Johnny Johnson.

The 20-page CIA report says the "Department of Disinformation" was established in 1959 and "now produces between 350 and 400 derogatory items annually."

The disinformers may have just scored another victory. According to the Tribune's article, the CIA's report was supposed to be seen only by "a select group of Congressmen." Chalk up another one for Ivan Ivanovich!



## A WAR NOBODY WANTS

## India Versus Pakistan

By George Novack

A precarious cease-fire has been ordered in the war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. This truce can be disrupted at any time. Both sides threaten to renew their armed combat if the numerous truce violations are not discontinued.

The suspension of hostilities underscores the weak semicolonial status of these nations. Despite their intentions, and ambitions, neither India nor Pakistan has the forces or resources to carry through an independent policy in Asian or world affairs.

The bourgeois governments of both countries are held on a short tether by the superpowers upon whom they rely for economic aid and military support. When the strings held in foreign hands were tightened, they were forced to stop in their tracks and retreat. This humiliating submission to the pressures exerted by the world powers both through the United Nations and behind the scenes is the most significant aspect of the cease-fire.

As their escalated actions in Vietnam show, the U.S. State Department and Pentagon are no devotees of peace at any price in Asia and will break it wherever they consider their vital interests to be endangered. Why then were they so anxious to bring the fighting between India and Pakistan to a halt? Because its eruption ran counter to their strategic plans.

## Washington Supported

Washington had aided and armed both these capitalist regimes as bastions against the workers states. Pakistan was assigned the role of watchdog on the subcontinent against the Soviet Union. India was delegated to harass and hold Communist China within its borders to the north.

For these purposes Pakistan has been given between \$1½ and \$2 billion in military aid since the early 1950's. In the past three years India has received around \$200

million in U.S. military supplies. When the governments proceeded to turn these arms against each other for their own territorial aims, Washington came forward as a guardian of peace and worked through United Nations channels to negotiate a truce.

It put a hard squeeze on both belligerents. Shipments of military supplies to Pakistan and India were suspended and turned back. Congress held up pending loans and grants.

## Same Actions

The Soviet bureaucracy, which wants to maintain the *status quo* and the existing balance of power in that part of Asia, tacitly operated along parallel lines with the American imperialists. According to Ugo Stille, reporting from the United Nations in the Oct. 14 *New York Review of Books*:

"They both warned Peking to stay out of the conflict. And both countries have given full support to the United Nations in the various steps it has taken to handle the crisis: the first Security Council Resolution of September 4; the peace mission of Secretary U Thant to Rawalpindi and New Delhi; the second Security Council resolution of September 20."

This *de facto* diplomatic alignment of Washington and Moscow was designed, not only to dampen the flames of war, but as a countermove against Peking. The Indian subcontinent has been an extremely sore spot in Sino-Soviet relations since the Russian government abandoned solidarity with a fellow workers state and perfidiously furnished planes to Nehru during the 1962 border conflict between India and China.

As India, prodded by its American patron, has become more hostile and aggressive toward China, Pakistan and China have moved closer together for mutual protection. The backing that China and Indonesia gave Pakistan very likely put added pressure on the

Indian government to acquiesce in the cease-fire demanded by the United Nations. Whatever other advantages Peking expected to extract, its maneuvers in this situation did not help left-wing Communists to get a better hearing for their position or facilitate the task of the hard pressed working class opponents of the war in India.

The predominantly Moslem population of Kashmir is entitled to the long-deferred referendum to decide whether they prefer to join Pakistan instead of being forcibly united with India. Will the United Nations once more permit India to block its recommendation for a vote in Kashmir to determine its status, as happened after the cease-fire negotiated in 1948? The reactionary consequences of the United Nations intervention in the Congo indicate that this organization cannot be trusted to defend the rights of the oppressed, whatever the fine words in its charter.

## Conflict's Cause

Even if the Kashmir problem should be settled, that would not remove the underlying sources of conflict from the Indian subcontinent which go back to the creation of Pakistan as a spearhead against the Indian revolution by the departing British in 1947.

Both Pakistan and India continue to be looked upon by the Pentagon planners as useful staging grounds and buffers against Communist China and the Soviet Union. The Congress party leadership in India and the military chiefs of Pakistan have welcomed the chance to whip up chauvinist and communal hatreds among their peoples to divert attention from a chronic failure to cope with internal social and economic problems. The urgent need of the masses on both sides is to find the ways and means of mobilizing their forces against these twin regimes of exploitation, hunger, and reaction.

## World Events

## Bolivian Youth Back Miners

Hundreds of Bolivian students demonstrated in La Paz, the capital, to protest the military junta's savage repressions of miners in the Catavi-Siglo Veinte district. The students demanded that troops be withdrawn from the mining areas and that detained union leaders and workers be released. (It is reported that the junta agreed to negotiate some of the miners' grievances out of fear of an uncontrollable explosion.) La Paz police violently broke up the student protest, wounding three.

## Juliao Freed for Trial

Francisco Julião, founder of the Brazilian peasant leagues, was ordered released from prison Sept. 27 by Brazil's supreme court. Julião was arrested in April 1964 by the military authorities who overthrew the Goulart government. Julião was then a member of the Brazilian legislature. The court has granted a writ of habeas corpus on the grounds that he was held in prison too long, while charges against him — having to do with his activity in the peasant leagues — were not tested in court. He was ordered released to face trial on those charges.

## Big Drive Against FALN

Venezuelan guerrillas have "operated with considerable success among the peasants" in the coffee-growing Andes foothills, in the states of Yara, Trujillo, Portuguesa, and Barinas. This blunt admission of popular support for the FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) came in a recent spe-

cial report to the *New York Herald-Tribune* describing a 10-month old drive by a 3,000-man Venezuelan army special force whose aim is to "root out" the guerrillas in the area.

The army drive, whose prolonged character indicates lack of success, is called the "first really big use of military force in Latin America against a guerrilla uprising" since Batista fought Castro. The operation "could become a model for future struggles" in other Latin American countries, the dispatch said, adding it is being carried out in greater secrecy than normal. Normally it is a crime in Venezuela for a newspaper to report guerrilla activities in depth or to call liberation fighters "guerrillas" rather than "bandits."

## Why Guerrillas Succeed

Why peasants in the Andes foothills support Venezuelan guerrillas can be understood from the description of their living conditions in the above-mentioned *Herald-Tribune* dispatch:

"The steep terrain is threaded only by burro trails connecting miserable groups of mud and straw huts and subsistence crops cultivated on 60-degree slopes. The peasants, who mostly practice slash-and-burn agriculture, endure in these conditions the cold winter rains that follow the three-month coffee harvest during which they work as peons for \$1.50 per day."

## Latin Military in Politics

Discussing the stir caused by a reported secret agreement between the Brazilian and Argentine

armies for joint action against "communist subversion," Juan de Onis discloses in a recent *New York Times* article that "there is a well-established system for exchange of intelligence information and consultation on political developments between the armies of Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Paraguay, and more recently, Bolivia."

## Preventing Profit Decay

The sixth Latin American Army Conference, gathering point for the hemisphere's "gorillas," will take place in Lima, Peru, in November. An official U.S. military delegation will attend for the first time. Discussion will center on "preventive action in the processes of counter-subversion."

## Guiana Profit Drain

Foreign companies invested about \$275 million in British Guiana from 1948 to 1964, reports the *People's Progressive Party Information Bulletin*, but they made profits, including depreciation, worth about \$362 million. The PPP is the party of former premier Cheddi Jagan, ousted by pressure from the British, who still occupy the country. The PPP was replaced by a coalition of pro-U.S. political parties.

This high rate of profit does not include assets such as buildings, factories, stores, etc., estimated at some \$200 million worth. The companies also regularly practice cheating by underpricing of bauxite, Guiana's main export, and manipulation of accounts. The annual drain from the country is \$50 million.

—George Saunders

## Algeria Government Police Torture French Trotskyists

PARIS (*World Outlook*) — A story of sudden arbitrary arrest and brutal torture in Algeria, at the hands of Boumedienne's police, was reported Sept. 27 by Albert Roux a French Trotskyist who was serving in Algeria as a technician. Roux and two other members of the Fourth International also arrested in Algeria in late August told of seeing many Algerians in the jails they were held in, all on blanket charges of "collusion" with the underground opposition to the Boumedienne regime.

Roux said that he had been arrested without a warrant, that his home had been searched without a warrant. The cops, Roux declared, tore down a Cuban flag on his wall, spit on it, trampled it underfoot and did the same with portraits of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro.

Then he was taken to police headquarters. "I was stripped naked and beaten," he said. This beating was so severe that when a doctor was brought in to examine him some days later, he found the victim's torso still black and blue. Refusing to cooperate with the police, Roux was taken to a villa on the outskirts of the city where he was submitted to increasingly severe degrees of torture in an attempt to break him.

At the villa he was again stripped naked. "I was stretched, still naked, on my back," Roux explained, "arms stretched out. A man stood on each of my hands. A third man then put a piece of rubber tire across my throat and pressed down with his feet, cutting off my breath. Each time, I felt like I was dying."

"This was varied from time to time by something else. They grabbed my sex organs and twisted them."

The next attempt to force a "confession" from Roux was electric torture. Use of electricity by the French colonial forces during the Algerian war drew outraged protest from the entire world. Roux learned exactly how it felt when applied by Boumedienne's police. Two electrodes were attached to his naked body, he was sloshed with water to increase the conductivity, and the switch was turned on repeatedly.

Finally came the worst siege of all. "I was placed naked, feet and hands tied together behind my back, in a shower stall. One of the torturers held my undershirt over my face, while the other, using a water hose attached to the faucet, flooded my nose and mouth with water. While doing this, he

## Not Maltreatment?

"If you do not consider maltreatment like strangulation under a person's foot, twisting of one's sexual organs, electric shocks through one's wet and naked body, water from a hose directed over an undershirt held against your face up to the point of suffocation, to be maltreatment, then Mr. Ambassador, I am quite willing to agree that we did not suffer maltreatment." Letter from Albert Roux, who was recently arrested in Algeria by the Boumedienne government, to the Algerian embassy in Paris.

pressed his foot into my stomach. It felt exactly like I was drowning. The electric shocks and the water hose were applied by turn during the whole night of Wednesday, September 1."

The case of Albert Roux has received wide publicity in France. As the treasurer and one of the principal figures in the Committee of Solidarity with the Victims of the Repression Due to the Algerian War, Roux played an outstanding role in helping the Algerian freedom struggle.

Because of the publicity, the Algerian embassy in Paris issued a formal statement, declaring that the arrests were "not arbitrary" and the accusations that Roux had collaborated with an underground revolutionary opposition were "true." Moreover, "The Algerian government formally denies the allegations according to which these persons suffered maltreatment." (*Le Monde*, Sept. 29)

In response to this, Roux addressed a letter to the Algerian ambassador (part of which is quoted in the box in this article) demanding to know why, if the allegations were true, he and his associates were not brought to trial.

The other two Trotskyists arrested and tortured with Roux were Simone Minguet, the first French woman to be imprisoned in France on the charge of helping the Algerian National Liberation Front, and Pierre Meyers. Meyers was such an active supporter of the anticolonial fighters that when he returned to France, after being deported by the Boumedienne government, he was at once arrested by the French police for having helped the FLN in 1960!

## SWP Protests Hooligan Act By Two Radical Groupings

[NEW YORK — The following is the text of a letter sent to Sam Marcy, chairman of the Workers World Party, and Key Martin, chairman of Youth Against War and Fascism, by Nat Weinstein, New York Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party.]

We wish to vigorously protest the hooligan-like action of members of your organization in physically attacking members of the Socialist Workers Party during the Oct. 3 picket line at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel against President Johnson and his Vietnam war.

Despite the fact that a number of organizations were present with their own banners and identifying signs, members of your group tried to prevent supporters of the Socialist Workers Party from carrying SWP signs or signs urging people to protest the war in Vietnam by voting for Clifton DeBerry, SWP mayoralty nominee.

When SWPers correctly ignored your demand to withdraw the signs, two of them — Hedda Garza and William Martin —

were set upon by apparently organized squads from your group who attacked them physically and tore their signs from their hands and destroyed them.

Such a shameful business can only aid our common enemies. If permitted, it would re-introduce into the radical and antiwar movement the hooligan tactics used by the Communist Party in the 1930s — tactics that did incalculable harm to the movement and brought disgrace upon the CP.

A repetition of such actions today is particularly pernicious when a healthy new radical and antiwar movement is emerging — a movement that has firmly rejected efforts from whatever quarter to impose a policy of "exclusion" on the movement — that is, a policy of groups attempting to exclude other groups from joint actions because they don't agree with their views.

We wish to make it very clear that we will not tolerate any attempt by members of your group to repeat their scandalous action.



## IT SEEMED TO HIM

## Heywood Broun—Radical Journalist

By Harry Ring

Organized labor has paid a stiff price for the terrible, stultifying policies that a thick-headed, reactionary-minded bureaucracy has fastened on it. One of the symptoms of this is the gulf between the new young radicals and the union movement—a gulf that the unions, not the young radicals, are responsible for. I was struck by this the other day while discussing the New York newspaper strike with two young socialists. Both are well informed, but neither knew what the American Newspaper Guild was.

I was especially struck by this particular gap in their knowledge because my own first active involvement with the labor and radical movement was as a teenager on a Newspaper Guild picket line.

Established in 1934, the Guild was originally a union of the working press—reporters, rewrite men, etc. Today its jurisdiction extends to just about everyone on a newspaper not covered by one of the printing trades.

My older brother was a newspaperman and the founding president of the Newark Newspaper Guild. In that capacity he served as strike chairman of the American Newspaper Guild's first strike which was on the Newark *Ledger*. It ran from about October of 1934 to around March of 1935. It was a bitterly fought battle for union recognition and for reinstatement of a number of reporters fired for union activity. It ended, as did many of the organizing strikes of the time, in a fairly definitive but not complete victory for the union.

I was 17 at the time and took pleasure in playing hooky from high school to join the Guild picket line. It was particularly exciting when mass picketing would be staged by newsmen from other papers in New York and New Jersey.

## Founder of Guild

The most prominent of the working newspapermen to do an almost-daily stint on the line was the founder and first president of the American Newspaper Guild, the widely read columnist Heywood Broun.

I relished marching behind Broun because he had been one of my heroes from the time I was eleven or twelve and, also, because he was a huge man and provided an effective shield from the icy winds of that particularly cold winter.

Heywood Broun enjoyed wide esteem and affection. From the mid-Twenties until his death at 51 in 1939 his column, "It Seems to Me," was one of the most widely read in the country. He was a marvelous writer with an equal talent for charming whimsy about inconsequential matters or hard-hitting polemics about social issues.

Broun possessed exceptional personal charm. A big bear of a man with a fine disregard for the niceties of dress, one observer described him as looking like an unmade bed. He was an easy-going, fun-loving person who almost fit the fictional stereotype of the whiskey-drinking, poker-playing newspaperman.

He affected a posture of being very lazy, but actually was a prodigious worker. In addition to his daily column he wrote a number of books. (Worth looking up in the library are "It Seems to Me," "The Boy Grew Older" and "Gandle Follows His Nose.")

He plunged into whatever cause he associated himself with, particularly so with the Guild. During the *Ledger* strike he commuted to Newark almost daily for picket duty and strategy conferences and contributed a regular share of his salary to the strike fund. He suffered from poor health and during the strike he was ordered to Florida for a complete rest. From there he kept in reg-



ON STRIKE. Members of New York Newspaper Guild picket New York Times during current shutdown.

ular communication with the strikers. I remember one letter on the bulletin board in which he gave a vivid account of recouping a night's losses in a single poker hand—and enclosing a check in the amount of his winnings.

Broun was a radical from the time of his college days. He attended Harvard but failed to graduate because of an inability to grasp elementary French. While there he was said to have been influenced in a radical direction by Walter Lippmann who was a classmate and, at the time, a socialist.

As a Harvard dropout, Broun went to work on the old New York *Herald* where he acquired a solid reputation as a sports writer, book and drama critic and, during World War I, as a war correspondent. In 1921 he joined the staff of Joseph Pulitzer's famed liberal daily, the New York *World*, and was soon writing "It Seems to Me."

During this period Broun regarded himself a socialist and for a period belonged to the Socialist Party, running for Congress on its ticket in 1930. He wasn't much of a socialist from either the viewpoint of Marxist theory (which he rejected) or even simple political consistency. In the late '30s he was regarded as a fellow traveler of the then already ultra-reformist Communist Party and a few months before his death he was converted to Catholicism.

But Broun was an honest man who despised cant. When Eugene Debs died in 1926 Broun wrote a memorial piece which I doubt will survive as a political assessment, but he said some fine things nevertheless. The column opened: "Eugene V. Debs is dead and everybody says he was a good man. He was no better or no worse when he served a term in Atlanta."

## Good Cause

Discussing how Debs had been railroaded to jail for opposing World War I, Broun said: "Free speech is about as good a cause as the world has ever seen. And, like the poor, it is always with us... It would have been better for America to lose the war than lose free speech."

Shortly after, Broun plunged into the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti, the Boston anarchists railroaded to the electric chair on trumped-up charges of armed robbery and murder.

In 1927 when a committee of prominent Bostonians appointed by the governor of Massachusetts recommended that clemency be denied Sacco and Vanzetti, Broun wrote: "I have said that these men have slept, but from now on we should make them toss and turn a little, for a cry should go up from many million voices before the day set for Sacco and Vanzetti to die. We have a right to beat against tight minds with our fists

and shout a word into the ears of the old men. 'We want to know, we will know, why!'"

For the next two successive days Broun wrote columns about Sacco and Vanzetti and they were not published. He quit writing for a period and then, after his column resumed, wrote an article for *The Nation* blasting the *World* and its publisher as phony liberals. He was fired.

## Shorter Work-Week

From 1929 on, he wrote his column for the Scripps-Howard chain. In 1933, during the depth of the depression, he and other newsmen came to the realization that they needed a union and he plunged into the work of organizing one.

Broun's declaration of intention to help form a union came, typically, in one of his daily columns, that of Aug. 7, 1933. He began by quoting an unemployed reporter who pointed out that members of their trade who saw themselves as "professionals" were working a six-day, 48-hour week while members of the printing trades with a union enjoyed a shorter work-week and that newsmen should follow their example.

Broun agreed. He wrote: "I am saying this not from the viewpoint of self-interest. No matter how short they make the working day, it will still be a good deal longer than the time required to complete this stint, and as far as the minimum wage goes, I have been assured by everyone I know that in their opinion all columnists are grossly overpaid. They have almost persuaded me."

"After some four or five years of holding down the easiest job in the world," he continued, "I hate to see other newspaper men working too hard. It makes me feel self-conscious. It embarrasses me even more to think of newspapermen who are not working at all."

Therefore, Broun declared, there should be a union. He continued: "Beginning at nine o'clock on the morning of Oct. 1, I am going to do the best I can to help set one up."

The column concluded: "I think I would die happy on the opening day of the general strike if I had the privilege of watching Walter Lippmann heave half a brick through a *Tribune* window at a non-union operative who had been called in to write the current 'Today and Tomorrow' column..."

Broun never got to see Lippmann throw the brick, but I remember a very professional journalist during the *Ledger* strike who was arrested when cops escorted a scab home and found him sitting on the scab's front steps with a baseball bat on his lap. When the cops demanded to know what he was doing, he took out a penknife and replied, "Just whittling."

## Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and capitalism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcome.]

What do the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant mean when they say they favor a political revolution in the Soviet Union?

The concept of political revolution in relation to the Soviet Union was advanced by Leon Trotsky in 1934 as the necessary means of eliminating Stalin's dictatorial rule and re-establishing the working-class democracy that existed in the Soviet Union prior to Stalin's rise to power.

Prior to 1934, Trotsky took the position that it was possible to dislodge the newly developing Stalinist bureaucracy through existing political channels, that it was possible, in effect, to achieve a political reform in the Soviet Union.

By 1934, he said, events demonstrated that the privileged bureaucratic caste which Stalin represented had become so entrenched, and so non-socialist in its policies, that it was no longer realistic to seek reform of the bureaucracy, that it would have to be forcibly dislodged from power.

He used the term political revolution to underline the difference between the Soviet Union, a workers state, and capitalism. (With the rise of Stalinism to power, he defined the USSR as a degenerated workers state.) Under capitalism both a social and political revolution are necessary to move forward to socialism. That is, there must be a fundamental change in the economic structure (and the social relations based upon it) and in the political superstructure.

In the Soviet Union, where capitalist property relations were abolished by the Revolution, a social revolution is not necessary. But a fundamental change in the political superstructure—that is, the re-establishment of the early Soviets or workers' councils—requires a political revolution. (The uprising of the Hungarian workers in 1956, which Khrushchev crushed, went in that direction.)



Stalin

With the process of de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union, which reached a peak with Khrushchev's 1956 denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the view has been advanced in some political circles that the reform, or perhaps even the self-reform, of the bureaucracy is a realistic prospect.

Supporters of Trotsky's thesis contend, however, that while the de-Stalinization process has eliminated some of the worst of the repressive features of his regime, the channels still do not exist for meaningful reforms and therefore the perspective of political revolution remains a necessary one. However, they are willing to collaborate with all those who support the efforts of the Soviet people to re-establish institutions of workers' democracy, without making agreement on the need for political revolution the basis for such collaboration.

An excellent analysis of the Soviet bureaucracy, from which this political position flows, is contained in Trotsky's book, *The Revolution Betrayed*. It's available from Pioneers Publishers, Five East Third St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Hard cover edition is \$4.50, paper \$2.45.

—Max Braun

## NEW YORK

## NEW YORK

## FIFTH AVE. VIETNAM PEACE PARADE AND RALLY

Sat., Oct. 16 — 1 p.m.

Rain or Shine

Demonstrate your opposition to the war. Assemble at 1 p.m. between 91st and 94th Streets between 5th and Madison Aves. Line of march is down 5th Ave. to 68th St. The rally will be at end of parade route.

Prominent speakers, SNCC Freedom Singers, Martha Schlamme, Barbara Dane, Len Chandler and a host of other entertainers.

## STOP THE WAR IN VIETNAM NOW!

Funds urgently needed.

For further information and leaflets contact:

COMMITTEE FOR FIFTH AVE. VIETNAM PEACE PARADE  
5 Beekman St., N. Y. 38 — phone 227-6960 or 227-6882

## COORDINATORS

Norma Becker  
Dave Dellinger

## STAFF

Henry Abrams  
Linda Dannenberg  
Fred Halstead  
David McReynolds  
Eric Weinberger

## SPONSORS

Stanley Aronowitz  
Jack Barnes  
Dixie Bayo  
Irving Beinin

Martin Berman  
Art Berger  
Milton Bloch  
Maris Cakars  
Henry Clayton  
Vincent Copeland  
John Darr  
Clifton DeBerry  
Ralph DeGisi  
John Ehrenreich  
Dr. Harry Epstein  
Al Evanoff  
Isidore Fazio  
Moe Foner  
James Forest  
John Fuerst  
Margery Haring

Lila Hoffman  
Mrs. Eugenia Intemann  
Chris Kearns  
Allen Krebs  
Levi Laub  
Joel Leichter  
James McNamara  
Key Martin  
A. J. Muste  
Russ Nixon  
Joe Popper  
Rick Rhoads  
Ingrid Rice  
Elizabeth Sutherland  
Robert Thompson  
Al Uhrig  
Tim Wohlforth



# Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## Incident at Dachau

Frankfurt, Germany  
The Sept. 18 *Frankfurter Rundschau* published the following dispatch from Munich:

"During the past days there have been race-hating actions inside the American army units in and near Munich. The incidents seem to prove that the American secret organization, the Ku Klux Klan, is able to also extend its actions to members of the U.S.

Army stationed in Germany. In the so-called Camp Dachau situated directly near the former concentration camp Dachau, white U.S. soldiers burned wooden crosses.

"These actions were repeated several times in spite of the thoroughly conducted investigations. In addition a charred wooden cross was put into the bed of a colored soldier detached as a guard for the U.S. military prison at Dachau, together with a note threatening 'You are next.' The soldier informed the U.S. detective force."

R. S.

## Help Needed

Marks, Miss.  
This is to request your readers to please be kind enough to send money to help with the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union here in Quitman County.

If we are going to have a strike we must have money to feed the children of the strikers.

Please send all money to:

L. C. Coleman  
511 Cotton St.  
Marks, Miss.

## Offers Criticism

Valley View, Miss.  
I generally greatly enjoy reading *The Militant*, especially for its wide coverage of liberation movements. However, many writers for the paper seem to have certain mental blocks which in my experience are found in many persons of the Socialist Workers Party. One of these blocks is a tendency to try and polarize the world and people into neat categories. This was illustrated by Harry Ring (Sept. 13) in his article, "Pacifists Clash on Politics of New Left." The main conclusion to be drawn from the article would seem to be that pacifists fall into two categories: the good guys (Lynd, Dellinger, et al.) and stooges for LBJ (McReynolds, Rustin, Harrington, Pickus, etc.). While I firmly agree with classifying Lynd, Dellinger, etc. as "good guys," I'm not at all sure that everyone else is automatically a stooge.

Another block is what appears to be an inability to write unemotional articles; most editorializing is too heavy-handed, vehement and bitter.

In addition, some of your writers resort to quoting out of context. Thus in the Ring article cited above, McReynolds is quoted as protesting to Lynd that Pickus, Rustin, etc. aren't the class enemy. Ring then adds: but LBJ is the class enemy, and those who divert the struggle against him into "coalition" are guilty of betrayal. The bit about the class enemy came up as McReynolds was comparing Lynd's attacks on the coalitionists with the Stalinist attack on Social Democrats as "Social Fascists." Thus, by his distortion, Ring has missed the whole point of McReynolds' argument, and has actually played into his hands, since Ring seems to be following the same Stalinist line in his comments about "diverting the struggle into coalition," etc.

Finally, your writers often distort history, or at very least give it a very superficial treatment. In Robert Vernon's article (Sept. 13) on China: "A US Propaganda Hoax," he says "Tibet was always considered a part of China." After all, he says: "Tibet was always considered a part of China, rightly or wrongly, and the imperialists themselves don't

claim to have much of a case there."

This last quote illustrates another bad feature of your paper: Mr. Vernon cites certain events as evidence without telling where those of us who may be a bit skeptical can find out if the events actually occurred or not. To be specific, I challenge Mr. Vernon to tell me where I can find a map printed in the west which shows that the 1962 India-China affair took place on Chinese territory. I am not saying that the map doesn't exist, but that Mr. Vernon probably doesn't know if it exists or not. I suspect that he read some article which mentioned the map, just as his does, and assumed the map must exist somewhere. If it turns out that he did see the map, or had reliable information that it existed before he wrote his article, I'll gladly apologize.

Finally, I'd like to request a gift-subscription to *The Militant*. This FDP office is rather broke, and we have a Community Center library next door which could well use your paper. I may not like some things about your paper, but you sure beat the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger* all to hell.

R. S.

[Regarding the criticism that we are "heavy-handed," "one-sided," etc., while we obviously do not agree, this is a matter of opinion that each reader must judge for himself. Regarding the charge that Harry Ring quoted David McReynolds out of context, we simply cannot see where this is the case and, again, can only leave it to the judgment of those who read the

article concerned. About the challenge to Robert Vernon on the China-India map question, we publish below a reply from Vernon. EDITOR.]

## Vernon's Reply

New York, N. Y.  
The cartographic aggression against China is most conspicuous in the area north of Assam, due east of Bhutan, and containing the towns of Towang, Walong, Bomdila, and Longju.

Rand McNally maps of 30 and 20 years ago, Hammond maps as late as 1951, and the 1946 Encyclopedia Britannica Atlas all place this entire area (larger than neighboring Bhutan in China, plain for all to see).

Maps printed since "we lost China," such as those in the World Book Atlas 1964 (Field Enterprises Educational Corporation), Map no. 9581 of the American Map Co. ("approved by leading boards of education" — approved by Mississippi boards of education too?), the Rand McNally 1965 Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide (96th edition), and any newspaper or magazine maps appearing on this region, award the entire area north of Tezpur up to the "McMahon line" to India, just as plain for all to see.

Other map finagling and juggling may be seen on old and new maps in the Jammu-Kashmir-Ladakh area.

Readers should also take note of India's more recent trespassing and construction of fortification works on the Chinese side of

the border across from Sikkim, and the hasty Indian retreat when the Chinese called their bluff.

Robert Vernon

## Pony Express?

West Orange, N.J.  
Just to add to the subject of your contributor George Breitman's revelations regarding the strange post office delays in delivering *The Militant* — the paper generally arrives at this West Orange address (less than 20 miles out of New York City) one full week late. For instance, today is Friday and I am still waiting for last Monday's paper; last Monday I received the previous week's. I think delivery must have been faster in Colonial times — surely they were able to do better than three miles a day on those mud-rutted roads!

Do capitalist papers suffer similar delays?

With best wishes and many thanks for a truly informative journal.

F. A.

## Positive Sign

Fredrickton, Canada  
Hereby I include the money required for a one-year subscription. I hope to get *The Militant* every week as I started to read it in Europe a year ago and have since then been very interested in your radical but sound way of seeing things.

It is for me one of the few positive and hopeful signs out of the United States these days.

M. T.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Crazy, Man!** — Actor Ronald Reagan, right-wing candidate for the California Republican gubernatorial nomination, charges that the John Birch Society has been infiltrated by a lunatic fringe.

**We Never Knew** — Los Angeles Police Chief Parker has come up with a revelation. Parker, who says he's been training his cops for years not to call Negroes "boy," argues against the notion that his community relations division is understaffed with only six members. "Police departments," he explains, "aren't supposed to be welfare agencies."

**That Answers That** — Reporting that the military command in Saigon had asked Washington to reconsider its position on the use of gas in Vietnam, the *Philadelphia Tribune* described efforts to check the story out at the Pentagon. The article said: "Reporters were told that the Pentagon stands on its previous position, which is: 'At exactly that point the story ended.'"

**Klan Weeded Out** — The Georgia Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan cancelled a meeting in a suburban park near Atlanta because the grass was too high. "I've attended Klan meetings in public parks and even cow pastures all over the United States," he complained, "and I have never seen a meeting place in such awful condition." Maybe he was concerned about snakes in the grass.

**Household Hint** — The New York *Herald Tribune* suggests: "A delightful way to take advantage of frozen orange juice, so low-cost this year. Have it half and half with champagne."

**Philosophy Student** — A reporter for the St. Petersburg Times

decided to have lunch at the school cafeteria at the University of South Florida in Tampa after student complaints about the quality of the food. The reporter found the lunch pretty hard to take. A student confided: "It's pretty good here . . . eat enough of anything and you can stand it . . . after about three weeks you get used to it."

**Religious Problem** — Just prior to the event, the New York *Herald Tribune* reported: "Six hundred and fifty free tickets to Pope Paul's Yankee Stadium mass for peace are available to non-Catholics for the asking, on a first-come-first-served basis . . . Applicants are invited to state the faith and congregation to which they belong; thus, implicitly, agnostics and atheists are not included." Meanwhile, we learned that some Catholic parishes used their quotas of free tickets as prizes in fund-raising raffles. What if an agnostic or atheist won?

**Just Plain Folks at Newport** — A New York society page correspondent reports that the question of dress is now strictly an individual matter in aristocratic old Newport, with all the rich people wearing pretty much what they damn please. The report includes a joking comment by Mrs. John R. Drexel III that "all you need is an evening dress for every night of the season." The report adds: "Actually Newporters make no such demands on themselves or their visitors. Twenty evening dresses are quite enough . . . Few men have more than three dinner jackets."

**Middle Road?** — National controversy has erupted in Sweden over the court-martial of an army private who helped himself to an extra pat of butter. A Military Psychology Institute spokesman defended the army action, saying it was not only the principle of the thing but also that, while a pat of butter only cost about a penny, "it would be quite a large sum if every conscript decided he wanted an extra piece." A critic estimated that the cost of the investigation and court hearing would pay for an extra pat of butter for a whole battalion for a year.

— Harry Ring

## 20 Years Ago

THE "RED" SCARE BEGINS — "Trotzkism" is becoming the big "red"-scare bugaboo used by labor's enemies in their intensified campaign to smear and disrupt the present strike struggles of the American workers.

Last week we commented on the attempt of "pro-labor" Victor Riesel, *New York Post* columnist, to represent the current Detroit auto strikes as nothing more than the doings of a "handful of Trotskyites" who want "immediate revolution."

The notorious George E. Sokolsky, rabidly anti-labor columnist, has taken up the hue and cry. In his September 28 (*N.Y. Sun*) column, titled "The Enemy Within," Sokolsky complains: "Strikes are mounting in number and seriousness. Some are not even authorized by their international unions. Some are definitely political in character as when a Trotskyist union in Detroit strikes against a mixed Social Democratic-Communist union."

Of course, Sokolsky is talking gibberish. And he knows it. He'd have a tough time showing an instance where any Detroit strike is being conducted for any reason other than to win some long-delayed and just demands from the corporations. — Oct. 13, 1945.

## Thought for the Week

"Of 1,787 complaints of police brutality involving federal law referred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the 12 months to mid-1965, only 13 ever resulted in indictment." — The Sept. 29 *Wall Street Journal*.

## INTRODUCTORY SUBSCRIPTION

To reach the widest audience with our coverage of the antiwar and Freedom Now movements, we are offering a 4-month introductory subscription to *The Militant* for \$1. (\$1.50 outside of the U.S.)

Name .....

Street ..... Zone .....

City ..... State .....

Send to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003.





## 'People in Watts Used to Be Ashamed'



**GUARDSMEN.** Members of National Guard on duty before store left undisturbed during Watts Uprising. Sign in window says, "Brothers Let Me Slide, Negro Owner."

[The following article by Dick Schaap appeared in the Sept. 29 New York Herald Tribune. We believe it offers a valuable insight into the thinking of the Watts ghetto.]

Bobbi Hollon, who grew up in Harlem, wears a pair of sneakers that are caked with blood. The blood spilled out of a wounded man's throat six weeks ago, during the riots that bloodied the whole Watts section of Los Angeles, and soaked into Bobbi Hollon's sneakers. "I'm never going to wash them," she says.

Bobbi Hollon is a young sociologist working for the Westminster Neighborhood Association in Watts, and she is prouder of her pair of bloody sneakers than of her degree from Morgan State College. Her pride is a key to the change in Watts since the riots.

The change in Watts is not physical. The scars of the uprising are still visible everywhere. Jagged edges of broken windows sit unfixed, dozens of plundered stores remain boarded shut, and, in an occasional ruin, the smell of fire lingers. And still the pastel-colored, one-storied homes look peaceful, their walls and palms and bright green grass hiding the squalor within.

The change is psychological. "There's a new pride," Bobbi Hollon said yesterday in the West-

minster office on Beach Ave., just east of 103rd St., the heart of the riot area. "People here used to be ashamed to say they came from Watts. They used to mumble it. Now they say it with pride. This started during the riots. Boys who always wore their shirts open to the waist, who would have sliced you up in half-a-second, started falling in here every morning at 7:30 or 8 o'clock. They distributed food. They administered it. And they didn't steal it for themselves. Sure, let's not kid ourselves, they'd been looting. But then they'd found something important to do."

Bobbi Hollon leans forward in her chair in the rundown building that houses the Westminster Association, and over her shoulder, through a window, you can see a sign saying, "Governor's Commission" posted on a new glass-and-brick building. The commission is examining the riots, the causes and the aftermath, but no one in Watts expects the commission to accomplish anything.

### Bring Dignity

"More than anything else," said Miss Hollon, who serves as an administrator-trouble-shooter for Westminster, "what's needed here is a real sense of human dignity, the feeling that 'I am someone, I deserve respect.' The riots helped create this feeling in some people. The riots are one of the best things that ever happened in Watts."

She paused. "I'm not for instigating violence," she said, "but I'm not for turning the other cheek either. Maybe I should shine you on, tell you what you want to hear, but that whole Christian bit has been used against Negro people too long. These people here could loot for ten years and not get back half of the money they've been robbed of in these stores all these years."

"The people here tried legal means of getting help, and they got nothing. They begged the white people to listen to them, and nobody listened. Now the whole world is listening to Watts. I'm glad the riots happened. I'm glad to see anything happen that can help make this whole thing better. And people are making a serious mistake if they think the riots are over."

Bobbi Hollon shook her head. "I'll do anything I can to help here, with the kids, with their mothers, anything to give them some pride," she said. "I'll be fine and foxy if I have to be. Or I'll be articulate. Or I'll wear pants and bloody sneakers. I'll be any one I have to be. But I won't forget who I am." She smiled. "I'm just a little black girl." She said it fiercely proud.

## Next Stage for Vietnam?

# Total U.S. Occupation Predicted

By Dick Roberts

OCT. 5 — "In order to win the war in South Vietnam we shall have to occupy South Vietnam with American troops." This statement, by nationally syndicated columnist Walter Lippmann in the Sept. 30 edition of his column, "Today and Tomorrow," capsulizes in a single sentence what now appears to be the dominant trend of thinking among U.S. policy-makers on Vietnam.

"A few months ago," Lippmann continued, "Mr. Hanson Baldwin, the military correspondent of the New York Times, called for a million men . . . It is beginning to look very much as if Mr. Baldwin had made an informed and realistic estimate of what a military solution would require."

This cold calculation is based on several factors: first, Washington's growing concern that the Saigon army cannot be counted on to accomplish U.S. objectives; second, the White House decision not to negotiate with the National Liberation Front; and third, the realization that the NLF cannot be defeated on the battlefield, but only by military occupation of the villages where the liberation forces are based.

### Low Morale

"The essential fact," Lippmann asserted, "which is beginning to seep through dispatches of some of the American correspondents, is that while the Americans can seize almost any place they choose to attack, the Viet Cong will almost surely come back once the Americans leave."

"In theory," Lippmann explains, "the Saigonese army ought to fill the hole . . . But the Saigonese army . . . is too disillusioned and has too little morale to occupy territory which the Americans have seized. What remains of the Saigonese army has little enthusiasm for the revolving politicians in Saigon."

With little wonder, one might add. The plain truth is that the South Vietnamese soldiers are sick and tired of fighting against their brothers in a bloody civil war which has lasted 20 years and has brought nothing but misery — particularly when this war is directed by police-state military and/or civilian dictatorships in Saigon.

On the question of negotiations, Lippmann verifies in carefully



Henry Cabot Lodge

couched terms what has been apparent for some time. "The President," he writes, "is no nearer the negotiated settlement which he has hoped to bring about. Nor, as a matter of fact, is the administration truly resolved to negotiate in a sense that it is prepared, even in its private thinking, to make the concessions that any successful negotiation is bound to call for."

The negotiations Johnson hopes to bring about, of course, are negotiations which do not include the liberation front. At this point, however, the NLF controls most of the land in Vietnam which is not directly occupied by U.S. forces, meaning that present negotiations would give the NLF a major role.

### Poor Tactics

Lippmann also reveals the weakness of U.S. military tactics at this point: "The war in Vietnam," he notes, "is like punching a tub full of water. We can make a hole with our powerful fists wherever we punch the water. But once we pull back our hand, possibly to punch another hole in the water, the first hole disappears."

Lippmann's article adds even more weight to the statement last week by U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge, that

"Americans should avoid peace parleys" (Herald Tribune, Sept. 27). Other reports by American correspondents in Vietnam confirm that this is the line of thinking of the top U.S. military brass in Saigon (see The Militant, Oct. 4).

What it boils down to is that there is growing belief on the part of America's rulers that they can get away with conducting a genocidal war against the people of Vietnam. Slow but steady escalation of the napalm and saturation conventional bombing of North and South Vietnam, reports of horrible atrocities against prisoners occasionally leaked to the press, increasing hints of the mass murder of civilians — all these, Washington hopes, have conditioned the American people to accept a hardening of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

### Policy Shift

Predicting this shift in policy Sept. 28, the New York Post explained that the use of tear gas and other "incapacitating agents" would be a part of the new U.S. tactics. Referring to the Defense Dept. "leak" that the U.S. was re-examining the ban on the use of tear gas, the Post reports, "a delicate exercise was necessary because the gas story had been badly mismanaged at the outset earlier this year."

But, the Post reassures us, "if public reaction remains as undisturbed as it was last weekend the gases will probably be in widespread use within a matter of weeks."

A shocking insight into the kind of a war that the U.S. and its allies are waging in Vietnam was offered by correspondent Jimmy Breslin in a Sept. 29 dispatch to the New York Herald Tribune. He describes a conversation with a U.S. helicopter machine gunner:

"We just rode Nuongs, you can tell that by the wire," the machine gunner said.

"Why?" he was asked. Nuongs are Chinese mercenaries from Formosa. A battalion of them are fighting in Vietnam, collecting good salaries for fighting for the Saigon government . . .

"They always want the wire for the prisoners," the kid said. "Don't you know that? They get a VC and make him hold his hands against his cheeks. Then they take the wire and run it right through the one hand and right through his cheek and into his mouth. Then they pull the wire out through the other cheek and stick it through the other hand. They knot both ends around sticks. You never seen them with prisoners like that? Oh, you ought to see how quiet them gooks sit in a helicopter when we got them wrapped up like that."

For comment, see editorial on page 4.

## DeBerry Says City Should Disarm Cops

NEW YORK — Two off-duty policemen shot it out in a New York City bar on Sept. 28 with their service revolvers. Neither was in uniform, and each thought the other was some kind of a gangster. One of the cops, Richard Selkowitz, killed the other, Richard Rainey. "Selkowitz acted in the line of duty," said Deputy Commissioner Walsh.

Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, said, "This case points out the trigger-happy nature of the police in New York. It's high time we put a curb on the unchecked license for brutality and violence that has been given the police. The first reaction of these two cops was to shoot first and ask questions later."

"The guns should be taken away from the cops. The British police have not carried guns for years and years and the people there are the safer for it."

"As an immediate step, we need a civilian police review board."

## Academic Freedom Is Defended At Rutgers University Teach-In

By Alex Harte

Two thousand students jammed an all-night teach-in focusing on civil liberties and academic freedom at Rutgers University in New Jersey on Sept. 29-30. The students were from Rutgers and Douglass College.

The teach-in on academic freedom was a response to the witch-hunt attack being directed at Rutgers' history professor Eugene Genovese. The attack on Genovese was prompted by a statement he made at a teach-in on Vietnam last April 23.

At that time Genovese said, "Those of you who know me know that I am a Marxist and a socialist. Therefore, unlike most of my distinguished colleagues here this morning, I do not fear or regret the impending Viet Cong victory in Vietnam. I welcome it."

Since Genovese made that statement his right to say it has become an issue in the New Jersey gubernatorial contest.

At the civil liberties teach-in another New Jersey faculty mem-

ber solidarized himself with Genovese. James Mellen, a political science instructor at Drèw University, said, "As a professed Marxist and socialist, I do not hesitate to state my position. I stand side by side with Prof. Genovese."

Whereas Genovese stated that he did not express his political beliefs in the classroom, Mellen said, "I profess my political viewpoints in class every day and it is my view that if other professors in New Jersey teaching my subject do not do so they are abdicating their responsibility."

Yale University professor Staughton Lynd also stated his agreement with Genovese's position on victory for the National Liberation Front. Yale is located in Connecticut.

Paul Tillett, associate director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, said that the university must be a place where ideas can be discussed without pressure from outside groups.

## DeBerry On TV and Radio

NEW YORK — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, can be heard on radio Oct. 12 and Oct. 16. On Oct. 12, he will appear on the "Ed Joyce Show," WCBS, at 3:15 to 4 p.m. On Oct. 16, DeBerry will be on "Editor Speaks," WLBI, 11:30 p.m. to midnight.

On Sunday, Oct. 17, the socialist candidate will be interviewed on WCBS television, channel 7, from 1 p.m. to 1:30 p.m.